

PEACE NEWS

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WHAT WAS DELAYING MR. VISHINSKY?

No genuine revolution in Persia

THE conspicuous delay in Mr. Vishinsky's arrival in London, following on Mr. Molotov's original refusal to come, has not improved the atmosphere of UNO. Let us hope that Mr. Vishinsky will have turned up by the time this appears, and will have removed the growing impression that this casualness is intended to show in what esteem UNO is held by Russia. As it is, the Russian behaviour will have increased the suspicions of USA, though the Russians would probably say that their impoliteness is a retort to the stickiness of USA, with regard to the atom-bomb.

News Review (January 17) has a circumstantial story of Senator Vandenberg's "bid to wrest control of foreign policy from the White House."

"A fortnight ago, on the eve of UNO meeting he took flight over the agreement reached in Moscow by Messrs. Bevin, Byrnes and Molotov on atomic bomb policy. He rushed to the White House and threatened to withdraw from the UNO delegation unless President

Civilization's last chance

by GUY DANIEL

UP to the present time wars have been responsible for the death of only a small minority of the populations of the countries involved. War with the atomic bomb would mean that a majority of the people in the warring nations will be wiped out, and civilization collapse into complete chaos over large areas of the earth's surface. If we are to survive at all, the atomic bomb demands that there be a radical re-orientation of every nation's foreign policy.

Signs that this is realised in practice, apart from lip-service paid to it, are practically non-existent. The invention of the atomic bomb has apparently not made the slightest impression on the behaviour of the nations. They continue on their way as if it had never taken place. Each seeks its own security and thereby frightens the others into intensifying their efforts to seek their own security; that vicious circle has returned. One does not need to be told it, to know that an atomic bomb-manufacturing race is already in mad and headlong progress.

There is only one possible way out. That is for some nation deliberately to break the vicious circle, and to step right outside it into the unknown. Only if some great nation behaves in a completely new fashion in foreign affairs has the world as we know it a chance of surviving the present crisis; if we carry on in the old ways—as we are doing now—we are inevitably doomed.

Britain's advantage

Two reasons—one idealistic, the other realistic—make Great Britain the nation best fitted to take this step. The first is that it would not be untrue to say that she is probably the most internationally-minded of the great powers at the present time, and therefore the least unlikely to consider taking such a step. The second is that Great Britain is far and away the most vulnerable great power. The USA has space; the USSR has both space and secrecy; Great Britain has neither. Nor could she possibly hope to stay out of another war. To arm in defence would give her people a "security" more completely illusory than at any previous time in history. It might enable us to destroy our enemy, but it is exceedingly unlikely that we should be able to escape destruction too; and if we are "atomised," what will it profit us to know that we have taken our enemy with us?

There are three things this country should do, if she is to lead the world on towards an era of trust between nations, an era in which it will be as unthinkable for America to bomb Russia as it now is for Kent to bomb Devon.

GANDHI

and the Princes

IN the very near future the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber, and Mahatma Gandhi are going to meet. Circles close to Gandhi say that this meeting will pave the way for the representation of the peoples of the Indian States in the constitution-making body which will be formed by eleven elected Provincial Assemblies.

This will mean that for the first time over one hundred million people, at present without a voice in framing the constitution of the country, will be able to contribute to the constitutional discussions.

—D. V. Tahmankar, Reyno ds News, Jan. 20.

First, the King in Parliament, as representing the whole people, should make, in circumstances of all possible solemnity, an affirmation on oath that Great Britain will never, in any circumstances whatsoever, either use the atomic bomb, or in any way be a party to using it.

Second, Great Britain should carry out complete and universal disarmament except token forces for ceremonial purposes and, possibly, for internal security.

Third, the Security Council set up under the United Nations Organization should be invited to appoint a committee of inspection, with full power to inspect anything anywhere at any time.

Latent idealism

It is difficult to forecast what would be the result of such action—so unusual does the idea appear to our unaccustomed minds—but it might be the spark to fire the latent idealism of mankind. Men and women in every country are looking hopelessly and despairingly for a new moral lead. They see nothing but the old nauseating game of power-politics being played more openly and blatantly than ever. They see the world being divided up into rival "zones of influence" without the wishes of the inhabitants of the zones concerned being in any way consulted. They watch hopelessly, the headlong race towards a more terrible war than the world has ever dreamt of before. If they could but see one nation, and that one of the greatest, break the vicious circle and step right outside it, new hope would be born in them.

Despite all the efforts of mass propaganda on the other side, Great Britain might, by actions such as those outlined above, so mobilise public opinion throughout the world as to render it impossible for other nations, first, to take advantage of our defencelessness, and second, to resist following our example.

New plane of living

And if other nations began to follow our lead, mankind might find suddenly that it had stepped up on to an entirely new plane of living. At the present time nations negotiate with the thought at the back of their minds the whole time that they must be careful what they give away to other nations because it might always be needed in years to come for making war. Alternatively, they negotiate thinking that if they fail to get what they want peaceably they can always go to war for it. But if nations came defenceless to the conference table, they would be compelled to find a solution by peaceful means.

What is needed to achieve this is an intensive and carefully thought out campaign to educate public opinion. Here is a task for the Peace Pledge Union; for the National Peace Council; for the Churches; for all internationally-minded groups and individuals. Every available person and means should be mobilised and organised to serve some such theme as "Let Britain Lead to Save the World." The appeal throughout should be to the idealistic nature of our fellow countrymen, though not forgetting—but also not over-stressing—the realistic warning of our extreme and unavoidable vulnerability.

"Man needs must love the highest when he sees it." So claims our civilization proudly. The fact that the United Nations discovered the atomic bomb first has presented us with one last chance to prove that this claim is a true one.

Observer's Commentary

Truman made it quite clear that State-Secretary Byrnes had not agreed to any change in Truman's undertaking to keep the atom-bomb secrets from other nations until an effective form of international control had been devised.

At such a critical moment in world-affairs, these antics were as all-advised as anything could be, but Senator Vandenberg had the measure of his man. Weakly, Truman capitulated. At the risk of annoying the Russians again, he gave Vandenberg the assurance he demanded.

Letter of the agreement

ON the face of it there is nothing unreasonable in Vandenberg's demand: which is that the terms of the Moscow agreement should be kept. Nor is there any substantial body of opinion in USA which is in favour of sharing the atom-secret before effective international control has been devised—and agreed. Russia has taken her stand on the letter of the Big Three agreements. There is no sound reason why USA should not do the same: unless, of course, there were verbal understandings which went beyond the published text of the Moscow agreement. There is no suggestion that there were.

Anyway, the atom-bomb is not something that can be disposed of by diplomatic courtesies. No great harm can be done by USA saying plainly what is the obvious truth: that the only condition on which she will part with the atom-secret is that effective international control should be established.

Persian "revolution"

QUITE possibly Mr. Vishinsky was staying away till the Persian government had collapsed. The evidence is that the Russian encouragement of Azerbaijan autonomy is a fairly straightforward extension of Russian security policy. It is intended to squeeze the central government till it becomes Russophil. Jon Kimsche (whom I remember a studious young Marxist in the ILP and who has since become Reuter's correspondent in the Middle East) has an informative article on the situation in the Tribune (January 17). He has no belief in any social revolution in Persian Azerbaijan. It is a more efficient and effective version of Czarist expansionism. Kimsche thinks it

Enter the Ambulances

IN Committees 2 and 3, which deal with UNRRA and the refugee question, Britain is expected to take a strong initiative for effective action. Some speculation has been caused by the wording of the British resolution which recommends to associate "other peace-loving nations" with the work of UNRRA.

There are a number of member-States of UNO not yet represented in UNRRA, especially Argentina, whose contribution could be substantial.

But inevitably the question is asked whether the British formula might not include countries outside UNO, like Sweden or Switzerland—both countries with a fine record of "international ambulance work."

—The Observer, Jan. 20.

will achieve its main objective: a Russophil instead of an Anglophil government in Teheran, and this time for keeps.

"There is no internal force left in Persia capable of resisting Russian influence in the North and in Teheran. The process of disintegration has gone too far: there is no real will to resist. . . . Persia is the beginning not the end of a Russian policy which is rocking the Middle East to its very foundation."

What good an appeal to UNO can do in such a situation it is indeed hard to see. If Persia had had the will to put its own house in some sort of order this would not have happened.

"The moral of the whole Persian conflict—and this applies to other prospective issues in the Middle East—is that neither UNO or any other power can help if a country is not prepared to stand up for itself." (Economist, Jan. 19).

Food as a weapon - still

FOOD is a political weapon, George Orwell reminds us (Tribune, Jan. 18). Not very long ago H. N. Brailsford re-told the grim story of how food was used by the USA after the last war to break the revolutionary movement in Hungary. Now, according to George Orwell, the world has advanced to further refinements in the politics of starvation.

"Many people calculate that if we send more food to, say, Hungary, British or American influence in Hungary will increase: whereas if we let the Hungarians starve and the Russians feed them, they are more likely to look to the USSR. All those who are strongly Russophil are therefore against sending extra food to Europe, while some people are probably in favour of sending food merely because they see in it a way to weaken Russian prestige. No one has been honest enough to avow such motives, but you have only to look through the lists of those who have—and those who haven't—supported the "Save Europe Now" campaign and see how the land lies."

Communists absent

THAT such considerations should play a part in determining the attitude of politically-minded people in this country towards food-relief in Europe, is so terrible a thought that I had, almost unconsciously, shut it out from my mind. But now that Orwell has forced it upon me, I must register the ugly fact that in the impressive list of signatories to the latest memorial of "Save Europe Now," the Communists and fellow-travellers are conspicuous by their absence.

That is an example of what, to me, is the most fearful consequence of the spread of Communist influence. It debases the traditional morality of Western man. To employ massive human suffering as a deliberate means to political ends is an outrage from which the spirit of man can hardly recover. There has always been a dangerous streak of such a tendency in the Marxist philosophy, with its emphasis on proletarian misery as the dynamic of social revolution: a theory manifestly fallacious in a democracy, in which proletarian "misery" is bound to secure relief long before a revolutionary situation occurs.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

WORLD IN TRANSITION

WE find it difficult to think about anything but the suffering throughout Europe, let alone the wider world.

These conditions are the immediate consequences of war; but pacifists are not satisfied to say as many do that the German people are the evil genius of Europe, the sole cause of the two world wars. The causes lie deeper. We are experiencing a world in transition. Are these distressing symptoms a planet's death pangs—or are they perhaps the birth pangs of a fairer life than our world has yet known?

World in transition—yes! "Pacifism in transition" with it, yes! We were interested to see the notice of a meeting announced in last week's PN with a galaxy of well-known pacifist speakers on such a fascinating subject. Whilst exploring together this changing

world and trying to find our place in it as individuals and as a movement, we will all hold fast to the eternal principles to which we are pledged.

A pacifist friend from Belgium has written: "I am very happy to renew with our PPU a friendship of seven years ago. I hope that the English movement has kept its high ideal of complete renunciation of violence and has not failed in its duty. . . . More than ever I am feeling the truth of the principles of absolute pacifism." We must keep faith with such friends. Please help us.

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MAUD ROWNTREE.

CORDER CATCHPOOL.

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Steel - your hearts

A PIQUANT contrast was to be noticed in last week's news. The Americans, more and more alarmed at the prospects of a steel-workers' strike, were ruefully remembering the well-proven dictum that as American steel-production increases so does American prosperity. At the same time it was reported that the Allies, being bound by the Potsdam Agreement to decide by February 2 the amount of industrial equipment in the Western zone of Germany that will be available for reparations, have fixed German steel-making capacity at 7½ million tons. That is capacity. Germany is actually to be allowed to produce only 5,800,000 tons of steel. That compares with a production-figure of 18½ million tons in 1929—a year in which Germany produced no war material. In 1939 the capacity of the Ruhr alone was 16 million tons.

By the American rule of thumb Germany is thus to be condemned to less than one-third of her "prosperity" in 1929—if her territory and her population had remained the same. Her territory is reduced and her intensity of population increased.

The Russians wished to reduce her steel-making capacity to three million tons. ("Workers of all lands, unite!") Moreover, this cheerful decision is without prejudice to the French claim to detach the Ruhr and the Rhineland from Germany. So that it may well be that of the 7½ million tons of steel-making capacity left to Germany nearly the whole will either be taken from her, or be useless because it has only low-grade ore to work with.

One must consider all this in relation to the governing clause of the

Potsdam Agreement: that Germany must be left sufficient productive capacity to maintain living standards "not exceeding the average of European countries." In the light of the steel decision and the known figure of three million tons for which Russia has been pressing, one cannot repress the thought that the whole agreement was a sinister farce. Obviously it is quite impossible for Germany now to recover her pre-war standard of living. (Even in the depth of the depression—the memorable misery which gave Hitler his chance—actual German steel production was about 9 million tons.) But, since Germany produced steel for her neighbour nations, unless they are going to produce the steel which Germany cannot produce, their standard of living is also going to suffer a serious decline. A standard of living for Germany "not exceeding the average of European countries" may turn out to be the grimmest joke ever perpetrated on an unsuspecting continent.

We speak with the utmost seriousness when we say that we shall need a great deal of convincing that this deliberate reduction of German steel production to less than one-third of the pre-Hitler boom figure of 1929 is not deliberately intended to make the material recovery of Europe impossible. The only way, it seems to us, to defeat this evil design (or to remedy this evil accident) is to set about the planning of Western Europe as an economic whole. That is, alas, in the dim and distant future. Or so it seems, just now. But it is more than possible that within two or three years the common misery of Western Europe will be so great as to compel us all to sanity, and a little of the fraternity that Socialism has preached so long.

History as she is not

RECENTLY I had the opportunity of looking through the bookshelves of a history master in a Grammar School, and among his imposing volumes there was *not one* that gave a tolerably impartial account of modern Germany. H. A. L. Fisher (whose initials are easily remembered if one thinks of HALF-truths where German politics are concerned) of course looms large and other familiar writers, but the one English historian who has endeavoured to be balanced on the question of Anglo-German relations from the 90's onwards is not represented at all. By means of statements, emphasis and omissions, all these authors manage to convey the propaganda version of the last 40 years' history. One of this crowd

harps on the "unpardonable crime of Germany... her selfish lust for world dominion... diabolical villainy... the conflict between light and darkness..." etc., in a tone that disgusts even when one makes allowance for the date of the book—1917. Incidentally are war-time historians less or

LETTERS

more excusable for writing tosh about the "enemy" than "peace-time" writers?

In conversation with the dominie I discovered that he was unacquainted with Beazley's *Road to Ruin*, and knew nothing of Morel's *Truth and War or Africa and the Peace of Europe*, and these important works are not even mentioned in the copious bibliographies attached to the books of these popular historians from whom the rising generation is learning "history."

It is not only ancient history that spins yarns—such as the one about Horatius—the moderns can do their share.

JOHN NIBB.

BM/JONIB, W.C.1.

Western Federation

That—in the words of Observer—"a pacific federation of democracies" in the West is the way to a true settlement in Europe, will be accepted by most thoughtful people. Nevertheless, the difficulties are so serious that it is doubtful if this path can be trodden in practice.

Frankly, one does not see Russia agreeing to any inclusion of Jugo-Slavia or Czechoslovakia in any such federation—nor does it seem likely (or even possible) that the large area of Germany now occupied by Soviet troops would ever be allowed to federate with the West. It is surely certain that the troops there will not evacuate the country until it has (by the well-known methods employed in Poland and elsewhere) become in fact a portion of Russia. This is indispensable realism.

Austria, too, can hardly federate with Germany (as its people would wish) as long as some 500,000 Russian troops hold the country in its Eastern regions. If Germany is to become—as Observer wisely suggests—a "full and equal member" of this pacific federation, it is surely essential that her territorial integrity (at least mainly) should be restored. One cannot envisage the country settling down to co-operation with the West, minus the Ruhr, East Prussia and all the large provinces now under Russian rule. Yet is there any real chance at all of any of these being restored to genuine German democratic rule? Virtually none! Apart from this, does not the stripping of the country of all its major industries create a barrier to any lasting settlement? Surely it would in our own case! But this process is described by the American Command as an essential part of the "Peace Plan." In short, the whole plan of reducing Germany to the status of a subordinate nation (without a doubt the fixed determination of all three

Two roads to social change

THE points I have made in the preceding articles might be summed up thus: (1) that there can be no truly peaceful society until individuals have been so changed that they are, in Owen's words "morally ready for Socialism"; (2) that this task of education can only be effected within a society which con-

MAURICE CRANSTON concludes his defence of Labour Pacifism

cedes political freedom, and which assures economic security to the common man.

With regard to point (2), I have suggested that the Labour Party alone represents an effective instrument for the defence of democracy and for the establishment of that necessary minimum of economic justice.

I have now to consider the protests of my critics, and then to advance the tentative draft of a constructive programme.

AGAINST my hypothesis it will be urged that the Labour Government is not so much occupied in feeding Britons as in starving Europeans, not so much interested in providing jobs for all as in maintaining industrial conscription, and my attention will be drawn to Java and to Indo-China, where Labour's military forces are being used to quell the native patriots.

Insofar as these criticisms are just, their cause is not hard to seek: it is that too many sensitive men, too many men with high principles and ideals, have cut themselves off from the Labour Government in recent years.

The spirit of F. D. Maurice, William Morris, Keir Hardie, and George Lansbury has diminished in the Socialist ranks as the inheritors of this spirit have left the party. Some of our most able pacifist leaders have actually stood against the Labour Party by-election candidates during the War (a tragic strategic error if there ever was one). The hope of the Labour Party today is men like Victor Gollancz, who proclaims from within

Great Powers) excludes wholly the possibility of Germany being made a contented portion of a new democratic Western Europe.

In conclusion, does not a perusal of Stalin's own book on Leninism suggest that Russia has not given up her ideas of bringing about revolution throughout Europe (contrary to Observer's belief that she has)?

M. E. Y.

Hunger no teacher

Observer says, "Fascism is a system of authoritarian government which arose in countries where democratic government had palpably failed to govern." With this I agree. And war is no solution to the problem of Fascism. It is democracy's confession of failure. For all the war, Fascism in Germany seems strong.

In the American zone recently, at Darmstadt, a Gallup Poll was held (Listener, Jan. 10). To the question, was National Socialism a bad idea or a good idea badly carried out? A majority replied that they thought it a good idea badly carried out. Secondly, did Germany need a new Fuehrer? Fifty-five per cent. of the women said Yes and thirty-eight per cent. of the men said Yes (and remember many of the younger men are prisoners and were not asked). To the question, should Nazi Party members be dismissed from leading political and economic positions? Forty-three per cent. said Yes, forty-four No, rest undecided.

Chester Willmot, responsible for the report, considers a large element in the population think National Socialism not intrinsically bad. One winter of starvation: one summer of blunder by the authorities and faith in Fascism is reborn. War, it seems, does not get rid of Fascism.

KEITH C. TREACHER.

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Peace through joy

I would like to know how many people feel as I do. I am in deep agreement with the need for abolishing war for ever not out of "consciousness" as you put it, but out of "conscience." Yet I am not a pacifist. I do not believe rendering good for evil is getting us anywhere.

"Pacifism," as it seems to me, is misled by the fact that when we "feel good" we have no desire to render evil. But how can we really "feel good"? To render good as such is not to feel good, and indeed I believe when we render good when we are not feeling good we only, exacerbate in the long run, the evil feeling and bring the day of evil rendering more disastrous. It is not, I think, accidental that we have hailed the Atom Bomb with scarcely veiled delight. It is our final reckoning with a society that flouts our counsel and irritates our nerves.

What we need, I believe, to liberate the good feeling is not to render good but to find the path to joy. We will find, to begin with, that the old formulae are worthless. Joy is a product of Love, and Love of a certain type of relation, or mode of life between people. I profoundly believe that the Pacifist is at present on the wrong rails altogether and that Peace lies through Joy and not through Sacrifice. If this was realized, Peace News might become a more cheerful paper.

L. E. H.

the true ideals of Socialism for which it stands. The rank and file of the Labour Party is not likely to be amenable to inspiration from men who sniped at the Party during the difficult years of war.

Sir Richard Acland has set an excellent example by entering the Labour Party in a spirit of humility, conscious of its defects but anxious both to serve it and to rekindle within it something of the old spirit. His is an example which I should like to see the average pacifist follow.

A pacifist programme

This brings me to my suggestion that there is a programme for the pacifist, if not for pacifism, in the present historical situation. I have already said it is two-fold. There is the long-term job of making better men. And there is the short-term of working for better legislation.

TO consider first things first. The way we go about the ticklish business of re-educating the individual will depend on our particular gifts and vocations. Three sorts of service are of prime importance: informational, spiritual and psychological. For it is just these things that disqualify people from the good life: stupidity, indifference to values, distorted emotions. Perhaps the distorted emotions are the things that need the closest attention. For there are many people with intelligence and vision, who are yet at war with themselves and their fellows. The great merit of Yoga is that it resolves this particular conflict, but I cannot feel that Yoga is a method for everyman. Nevertheless I believe that the problem of pacifism is intimately bound up with the problem of sex; that war issues, in fact, from a perversion of sexual energy. I think no-one can read Freud, Jung and Dr. Reich and not acknowledge this. No job is more specifically a pacifist job than the search for a normative principle in sex and personal relations arising from sex.

Pauline Chastity is possibly the ideal, but to secure it by repressive methods is manifestly disastrous.

Very little has been done in this field of social analysis. The pacifist might well apply himself to it.

Living on capital

Again, still thinking in terms of the long term objective, there is the crucial issue of personal integrity. I wonder how much such respect as the PPU enjoys derives from the personalities of Lansbury and Sheppard. Perhaps we have been living on this capital too long, instead of creating in ourselves personalities worthy of the same respect. In this matter we must look into our own hearts, but I am quite positive that the only worthwhile propaganda of the pacifist movement is radiated by the "good man." We need good men, particularly in the rough and tumble of politics.

And then there is education in its more limited sense. Particularly the education of the young. To minimise the evil in the soul of man we must train our children differently. Love must replace "justice" in the school-room if it is to conquer elsewhere.

THERE, at any rate, are three roads to the pacifist objective. I have not mentioned the Community movement, which is familiar enough already, though I may suggest that the root problem for the Community movement is not economic, but that of personal relations to which I have already referred. I summarise the long-term programme thus:

1. Discipline in our own personal lives;
2. Education of people's minds and senses, together with the direction of their thoughts to ultimate values;
3. The discovery of a normative principle in sex and personal relations;
4. The liberation of children from the tyranny of the present educational system, and the establishment of a system based on love and liberty.

And finally, the activities appropriate to the realm of politics. If a Socialist, the pacifist will seek to promote the highest ideals of the greatest Socialists in the day-to-day counsels of his party. He will work particularly to recall the Labour Party to the internationalism which was once central, but seems nowadays to mean very little. He will never be doctrinaire, but he will be passionate in his defence of Democracy.

I hope he will be passionate, also, in his work for an economic square deal for the common man. Politics will always be "the art of the second best" but it will always be of the first importance.

In Maurice Cranston's first article the epithet applied to the Anarchist Federation should have read "tyrannical," not "tyrannical," and the purpose of politics defined as the provision of a decent context, not contest, within which good might be done.

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PERSPECTIVE

DURING the past few months a large number of groups have either initiated or participated in such schemes as clothing for Europe, gifts for German prisoners of war, and hospitality for Dutch children, and in many cases have been responsible for really effective work in this connection. In some cases groups have collected a considerable amount of clothing which would never have found its way to Europe if they had not taken the initiative. In other places they have backed up the local drive organised by the Society of Friends.

PPU members have also responded well to the appeal for gifts for German prisoners of war and, here again, group organisation has proved invaluable in fostering efforts which, if left to individuals, would probably never have taken place. In the case of the scheme

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, PPU, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

for giving hospitality to Dutch children run by the Reception Committee, Young People from Occupied Countries, not only have PPU members individually provided homes for the children but in quite a number of cases have been responsible for the setting up of local reception committees. Groups have played their part by organising entertainments and outings for the youngsters.

All this goes to show that groups are beginning to recognize that such activities as these have a definite place in the work of positive peacemaking. In most cases they have undertaken these forms of service quite spontaneously and when the need and opportunity arose and not as part of a planned programme. The time has not yet come when groups regard service as a regular feature of their agenda nor have they generally recognized that long-term planning of some permanent and continuous form of service which embodies the application of pacifist principles to problems in their own neighbourhood should be an integral part of their programme. Nevertheless, the active participation in these ad hoc schemes may well be the starting point for a growing recognition of the value and importance of service. Some groups have already experienced the revitalizing effect of doing a job together if only it be so unspectacular as the collection and packing of clothes.

When one scheme has come to an end it is natural that they should look round for something else to do and out of this common desire may arise the determination to draw up a plan of service to take the place of the short term, sporadic efforts on which they have been engaged hitherto. If this is to be effective, however, it must be accompanied by a real attempt to relate their service to the whole pattern of pacifist activity. The group must recognize that the service they undertake is valuable training in the application of pacifist principles, an opportunity to demonstrate to their own community the effectiveness of the pacifist method, and an instrument for effecting the social revolution which must take place if the foundations of a peaceful society are to be laid.

KEN WOODROOFE.

CRIPPS RULES OUT "ANYTHING HEROIC... AS A COUNTRY"

WHILE Sir Stafford Cripps told a Bristol audience that Britain "as a country" could do nothing heroic about European distress, the Manchester Guardian has raised in a leader the question whether we should not do something about the "Food for Britain" campaigns, which are sending additional foodstuffs to this country from ill-fed colonial territories. And men of the British Army of the Rhine are asking in their unit newspapers whether German footballers who play against them should not have comparable rations to their own.

It is not a question of "heroics," as the British soldier on the spot well knows. It is a question of spreading available food over the hungry Europeans like decent human beings—and, to this end, taking no more than a fair share ourselves.

Meanwhile, it is important that the efforts of Save Europe Now to raise for COBSRA the £100,000 necessary to buy such food as is immediately available shall not be relaxed.

Early this week the first £30,000 had been passed.

"There may be others"

WHILE Britain is sending help to Germany and other countries, she cannot remedy the food situation in Europe by depriving John of his livelihood to help Hans or Gretel, said the President of the Board of Trade at a luncheon given by the Lord Mayor of Bristol in connection with the local European Relief Fund.

Sir Stafford said:—

"We must, for our own good and for the safety of our own people, keep up a standard of living in this country which can maintain health and ward off disease.

"To do less than that would be to

MEN ON THE SPOT

SHOULD German footballers receive extra rations? This is a popular topic of conversation among British soldiers here.

One BAOR man asks in his unit newspaper: "When a German football team has a fixture with a British team, are the Germans in a position to enjoy equality in the matter of rations? If not, I consider coming from a country where sport is paramount, we must do something about it."

Replying in an editorial, the newspaper said: "When judging the performance of German football teams, the average British sportsman takes into account their inferior rations." But this has not entirely convinced the troops.—
 Reuter, Jan. 17.

Wrong destination

The N'kana Women's Institute held a morning market in aid of their Food for Britain on Wednesday. Thanks to the efforts of the members and the generosity of the public, approximately £42 was taken.

ALL this shows very kindly thought, but we may wonder whether the state of Britain is really such that it needs the cash contributions of African natives to provide us with food. Is there not a little too much zeal somewhere? What is the British Government's attitude? Can it assure us that by this means we get food that otherwise we should not? And is there no malnutrition in Africa?"

Thus enquires the "Manchester Guardian" (January 18) in commenting on the "Food for Britain" movement which, having swept the dominions has now extended (for instance) to Northern Rhodesia, from whose newspapers the "Guardian" reproduces some reports like that cited above.

sacrifice our own children in the attempt to save others.

"This prevents us as a country doing anything heroic to raise the almost starvation standards in parts of Europe.

"There may be other countries where rationing has ceased and where there is still food that can be spared for the needy children of Europe. It is right that we as Christians should be prepared to make sacrifices, but we must remember our obligations to others in the offers we make."

Sir Stafford said (according to the Observer, January 20) that while facing the facts of the world's shortage of supplies they must not resign themselves in despair to doing nothing. The Save the Children Fund and similar organizations provided a way out of the dilemma.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Your help needed

"SAVE Europe Now" is circulating the 60,000 people who responded to their original appeal for a voluntary scheme with a letter on behalf of the "Council of British Societies for Relief Abroad" Fund.

In little more than a week the labels for this task had been addressed by willing pens all over the country, but hands are now urgently needed for the folding and labelling of the letters to go out. This work will be done at 14, Henrietta Street, W.C.2, during this and next week. Anyone who can spare a few hours to help will be welcome.

Between 9.30 a.m. and 6 p.m. they should go to the back door at 30 Maiden Lane, W.C.2, and straight up the stairs to the office on the third floor. After 6 p.m. this door is closed, but helpers will be admitted at the front door in Henrietta Street between 6 p.m. and 7 p.m.

The Pastor of Bethel

A GREAT German Christian leader, who through Nazism and war maintained the highest traditions of religion and humanity, Pastor Friedrich von Bodelschwingh, died early this month at Bethel die Bielefeld, the great charitable institution with hospitals and homes for all kinds of illness, which his father had founded.

In 1940 the Epileptic Hospital at Bethel was bombed by the R.A.F. and many children killed or injured. On the following Sunday Pastor von Bodelschwingh preached a sermon, a translation of which reached England and was printed by the Friend (and in PN, Feb. 14, 1941). It began:

"A cruel and indiscriminate war-operation has hurled destruction upon the houses in which mercy does her hidden service to sick and little people. Here in the House of God we do not speak of the injustice that men have done to us, but ask ourselves quietly under the mighty hand of God: What does he desire to say to us through such experiences?"

Pastor von Bodelschwingh was elected Reich Bishop of the Evangelical Church but was rejected by Hitler. His work for the unfit clashed with Nazi racial theory, and Bethel itself was threatened with SS action to destroy incurables. But the Pastor resisted and the order was rescinded.

NO ATOM WAR

The above has been chosen as the main title of a meeting to take place in the Central Hall, Westminster, on March 16. It has been organized by the Society of Friends Peace Committee, who invited the co-operation of the FoR and the PPU. The meeting will be in two parts, afternoon and evening, and Donald Soper will be in the chair. The following have promised to speak:

James Hudson, MP, Reginald Reynolds, Alex-wood, Bertha Bracey, J. G. Hugenholz, Tegla Davies, Charles Raven.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

Displayed advertisements: Maximum size 3 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

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BOY AGED 12 attending Hampstead progressive school needs home Mondays to Fridays. Write: Tucker, Somershill, Bexley.

TWO C.O.s requ. acmdtn. Mar. Lambeth-Brixton area, urgent. Box 254.

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"Walden Acres," Hurst, Reading.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

MEETINGS &c.

"RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP."—Club Leaders' Conference (open to all interested). Jan. 27, 1946. 10.30 a.m.—5 p.m. at Alliance Hall, Westminster. Chairman: Alex. Wood. Spkrs.: Jack Singleton (Lecturer, Youth Clubs, Forces, etc.); Ian McLuckie (ex-Warden, Liverpool University Settlement). Tickets 1s. at door. Parties from Patrick Figgis, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

LONDON'S NEW lunch-time open-air pitch starts on Fri., Feb. 1, 1-2 p.m. Patrick Figgis, Sybil Morrison. Come and support! Leather Lane (by Gamage), corner Portpool Lane.

NORTHAMPTON BREAKFAST Sun., Feb. 3. Sybil Morrison "Pacifism and World Government."

BOURNEMOUTH, JAN. 28, 7 p.m. St. Peter's Hall, Mayor of Bournemouth will launch appeal for relief for Europe. P.P.U. members please support in force.

MIDLAND PACIFIST Fellowship. Selly Oak F.M.H., Sun., Feb. 3, 2.45 p.m. "Service to the State," Hugh Doncaster.

WEST MIDLAND Area A.G.M. on Sat. and Sun. Feb. 9 and 10 at Y.W.C.A. Social Service Centre, 67 Broad St., Birmingham. Sat., 3 p.m. Committee, 4.45 tea, 5.30 1st Session, 8.0 dancing. Sun., 3 p.m. 2nd Session, 5.0 tea. Orders for tea (and hospitality) to H. H., 23 Tixall Rd., Birmingham, 28.

SINCE OUR last advert., Irene Barclay, Dr. Albert Belden, Dennis Davis, Alex. Smith have agreed to help with our Conference "Pacifism in Transition," March 9-10. Other spkrs. include Dr. Donald Soper, Alex. Wood, Ken Woodroffe, Howard Whitten. Details from Phoenix, 141 Grays Inn Rd., London, W.C.1.

MYRTLE WRIGHT, O. Kullberg, answer questions on Norway, 1.15 p.m. Thurs., Jan. 31, Kingsway Hall. Chair: Bernard Taylor. Phoenix meeting.

PERSONAL

DID YOU buy "But What Hinders You" to find out what to do now, said Alice to the pacifist King? Oh! no, said the King, I bought it because that it the thing to do now. First 2,000 ready, order Phoenix, 141, Grays Inn Rd., London, W.C.1.

WANTED CONTACT member willing to look up members, Eynsford and Shoreham dist. Write: Mrs. Hynard, Lower Austin Lodge, Eynsford, Kent.

YOUNG MAN 30 wants correspondents in Northants. (Either sex 18-25). Box 257.

C.O. (32), interests: music, books, travel, etc., desires friendship with another having similar interests. Box 256.

JOIN Victory Correspondence Club, 34 Honeywell Rd., S.W.11, for congenial pen-friends.

CONTACT CLUB. Congenial pen friendships for all. Partics., stp., Sec., P.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdns., Rummey, Cardiff.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

MARRIED COUPLE or two friends wanted as wardens for home for aged women. Also assist warden. Please send full parties, as to experience, etc., to H. B. Highfield, 160 Lord St., Southport.

COMPETENT SHORTHAND-typist reqd., immediately with knowledge of filing and office routine. Apply in writing with photograph if possible to War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middx.

WANTED WORKSHOP man for social work experiment. Initiative and general practical ability reqd. Furniture reprs., etc., as part of problem family case-work. Residential maintenance basis at present. Future uncertain. Married couple, wife cook-hsekr. Partics. from Friends Service Centre, 161-163, Netherfield Rd., Liverpool, 5.

ASSISTANT TO Manageress reqd. from April to Sept. all found with private bedsittgrm. Write age, expec., remuneration reqd. Rushmore Guest Hse., Selsey.

TYPIST, CAPABLE, part-time and secretary whole-time. Apply stating speed, experience and wages reqd. Bri. 6513.

HAPPY VEGETARIAN family, 2 young children, baby April, urgently needs helper. Own rm., time for outside interests. Weatherhead, 54 Pembroke Rd., Bristol, 8.

SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED

YOUNG MAN 31 yrs. seeks light employment. Nothing refused if position is progressive. Box 252.

C.O., FORMERLY 25 yrs. in Civil Service as clerical officer, now registered under the Disabled Persons (Employment) Act, 1944, seeks work in Croydon area. Suggestions please to Employment Sect., C.B.C.O., 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

TYPEWRITING AND Duplicating of every description. Manuscripts, programmes, church, club and commercial work, etc. Price list on application. Box 250.

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ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes traders bks.; attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. P.v. v. i. c. i. a. l. clients visited without obligation. Box 96.

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INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8985.

PERIL TO DEMOCRACY

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

THE areas where the danger of sheer mass-starvation is now most acute are the Budapest region, parts of Austria, Dalmatia and parts of Greece (Times, Jan. 18). Conditions in Budapest are appalling. A quarter of the population is already starving, and unless more food reaches them within a few weeks "death or total incapacity can be the only result."

In Greece, where relatively large amounts of supplies have been sent, the root-cause of the misery is the political collapse. The administrative machine is so corrupt and rotten, and civil war has now become so endemic, that the supplies do not get to the people who most need them.

Even in France the simultaneous re-imposition of bread-rationing and the revelation that some of the great insurance companies have been engaged in insuring large scale black-market operations shows how perilously near to collapse is the fabric of Europe. And the acknowledged fact that one of the principal causes of the bread-shortage in France, after rationing had been removed, was that the peasant found bread cheaper than grain to feed to their stock, is an indication of the extent to which social morality has been destroyed in France.

Decay in social responsibility

THE inevitable consequence of this decay in social responsibility, if it is not checked, is authoritarian government. Without some degree—and nowadays a pretty high one—of social responsibility liberal democracy simply cannot work. It just has to be superseded by authoritarian socialism: of which there are two varieties, Fascism and Communism. As things are at present, both France and Italy are moving towards an open struggle for power between Communism and Fascism.

The new Fascism may be slightly different from the old one. For instance, pre-war Fascism in France was less anti-German and more anti-Socialist than de Gaulle's would be. And the new Fascism of Italy would be much less imperialistic than Mussolini's. All of which will be bewildering to those who imagine that Fascism is necessarily imperialist. There is plenty of room in history for the development of snug, non-expansive totalitarianisms. And unless democracy shows itself capable of a good deal more social discipline than it is manifesting at present, some of them will certainly emerge.

Doctrine - home to roost

BRITAIN, from the detached point of view, is an extremely interesting case. There is a better chance here than anywhere for the development of a genuine social democracy. The administrative machine has not broken down; there is no habit of violence, no invincible black-market; the installation of a Socialist government has taken place with a minimum of friction. But the success of the experiment depends upon an advance in social responsibility. And the Labour movement has not been, and is not being educated into a new social sense.

"It is a lifetime of Socialist teaching that is coming home to roost on the heads of Labour Ministers, for a wage-earner who believes that all his demands can be met out of the surplus value accruing to the exploiters of labour is beyond the power of being convinced that there is any connection at all between his own efforts and his rightful deserts. So long as there is a single capitalist left in the country, the worker will go on believing what the Labour movement has always told him, that he is morally right and economically sound to work less and demand more wages." (Economist, Jan. 19).

That is substantially true. And it is surprising how the Labour Ministers fight shy of telling the workers the plain truth: that unless wage-increases are accompanied by an increase of productivity per man-hour the certain consequence is inflation and universal scarcity. The need for a nation-wide propaganda campaign much more sustained and intense than that for National Savings. Why is it not begun?

Out Today:

C.B.C.O. Bulletin

(by post: 3s. a year)

January number includes a full report of the Committee Stage and Third Reading (Jan. 22) of the C.O. Release Bill

C.B.C.O., 6 ENDSLEIGH ST., W.C.1

Atoms & Geo-politics

SINCE we witnessed the first physical result of atomic bombing, the phrase "living in the atomic age" has found its way into our vocabulary. Yet in spite of the mortal danger of this new weapon, the Governments of the United Nations have returned to the old game of power politics. So the question "Can the atom bomb end war for ever?" has not found its answer.

It is here that we have to realise that our modern power politics have applied towards the assistance of another science, which we called, during the pre-war years, "the science of Geo-politics."

The Swedish political writer, Rudolf Kjellen, was justified in stressing the importance of a geographical study rotated to political systems, which he called "Geo-politics." The German, Ratzel, Mackinder and Fairgrieve in Britain, and Ellen Semple in USA, followed him in trying to restate the basic facts of geography in relation to the national and international problems of the modern world.

Changes in power

The school of geo-politics realised first that technological developments were changing the relative importance of physical-geographical factors; and next, that since power in the modern world rests on a combination of natural resources and technical development, the balance of power was changing, and sooner or later the political map must change too. It is here that the atom bomb becomes not only a weapon of power politics, but a confirmation of the views of the school of Geo-politics.

Nagasaki and Hiroshima have both given us the first example how to achieve a certain earth space by breaking all rules of modern warfare. If Japan had been in possession of the atom bomb at the time of Pearl Harbour, cities like Washington, Chicago and New York would have ceased to exist, and any American Government would have been forced to an unconditional surrender. The psychological effect of the complete destruction of the world cities, would have had influenced the resistance forces of the American army towards the Japanese invader.

Bearing the facts in mind, we must be aware that the Old World is 22

The Third Challenge

SINCE Hiroshima and Nagasaki it has become a commonplace to point to the gap between man's primitive mortality and his advanced technological ingenuity. But however many times this is reiterated it does not help us to grapple with the wholly new dimension of human experience which the use of the atomic bomb against Japan presaged. In this pamphlet* Mr. Murry takes us beyond this threadbare theme and gives us a more immediate historical though no less fundamental perspective from which to evaluate the staggering fact of atomic power and its significance for human affairs.

He sees positive atomic energy as the third of a series of power challenges, to the first two of which, coal and oil, man utterly failed to respond. The enormous increases in power which coal and oil successively produced required, if society were not to be disrupted, revolutionary adjustments in our social behaviour; man failed to make them and they were crudely made for him by World Wars I and II.

From this suggestive standpoint, where the emphasis is placed not so much on the obviously destructive nature of a possible atomic war as on the effects of positive atomic power on our economic and social life, Mr. Murry goes on to show that the outcome is likely to be the supersession of nation-states by super-nation-states. He sees the only hope in the creation of a Western European federation of nations sponsored by a democratic socialist Britain. For if a super-nation-state could be brought into being which repudiated both totalitarian communism and unrestricted private capitalism, which Russia and the USA respectively represent, the world might be saved from the destructive antagonism of Russian political pressure and American economic pressure, and won to a third and better way of life.

The chances of a Western European federation do not seem to me altogether remote, but whether such a federation would flourish under democratic socialist inspiration is, perhaps, more dubious. But pacifists in their attempt to relate pacifism to the international level should be ready to receive this idea unprejudicedly, even if for some of us the socialism we have seen so far is anathema, and they could not do better than study what Mr. Murry has to say here.

And as for those non-pacifists who were not shaken into some sort of awareness by Hiroshima—and there are many—this pamphlet should be distributed amongst them gratuitously.

CONAN NICHOLAS.

THE THIRD CHALLENGE, J. MIDDLETON MURRY, NPC Peace Aims Pamphlet No. 33, price 6d.

times larger than the New World and contains five times the population. America is in itself a special "heartland" speaking in Geo-politics terms. As I have described the new world as a special heartland inside the globe, we may realise why the American Government is not willing to share the secret development of the atom bomb, especially with Soviet Russia. Few of us noticed that Soviet Russia in her five days war against Japan gained a territory which is five times as big as the whole of Europe together. By gaining such a tremendous earth space without any hard fighting Soviet Russia has advanced a great step geo-politically, and at the same time has become a greater danger towards the Western Hemisphere, than Japan ever was to Pearl Harbour.

American fears

The secrecy of the internal affairs in Korea and Communist-occupied China is for America a far greater danger than the unknown development of occupied Soviet-Europe. Soviet-Euroasia has become the most outspoken exponent of geo-politics, and may develop the ambition to dominate any other power trying to influence the political conception of Soviet-Euroasia. Here Russian imperialism and Soviet internationalism have found a common basis.

Two other powers appear on our geo-political horizon: France and the British Empire. Going back to the failure of the Five-Power conference in London last September, we will understand why, neither the British nor the French Government were willing to adopt the Soviet proposal of the mandate scheme, by which Russia would claim a control over a part of the second heartland and at the same time could prepare an ideological penetration into the Dark Continent. The American proposal of the internationalisation of certain colonies for a certain period, after which they would regain their independence, was sceptically received by the British and French authorities. America and Soviet Russia did not realise that the heartland number two is for the British Empire and for the French Empire the only sphere of security even in our atom age, against the invisible geo-political developments of Soviet Russia.

Relatively minor

The European border disputes, the deportation of millions of Europeans into the sphere of Soviet Russia, the epidemics on the continent are relatively of minor importance inside the field of geo-politics. It is not human lives which will count in a future war. Space alone, however, devastated, will be the main object not only in a future war, but in our new development of power politics.

The psychological fear of atom power and its steadily progressive development are from the human point of view, fully justified; but from the geo-political view, what is significant is its potency as an influence to establish the three heartlands of Africa, America and Euro-Asia. Today, we are playing with the atoms of geo-politics, as we once played with the balance of power in Europe. Let us remember, where balance of power politics led us, or we surely will not be able even to remember, nor our grandchildren, where the atoms of geo-politics have led us.

GERD TREUHAFT

End of NZ defaulters' camps

MEN who have been held indefinitely in Detention Camps in New Zealand because of their refusal to serve in the Armed Forces during the war will be released in April following a Cabinet decision.

By that month all Service men, excepting those required for the occupation force in Japan, will have returned to New Zealand. The cases of CO's now held in prisons serving varying terms of punishment for breaches of camp discipline will, however, be reviewed individually.

The first defaulters' camps were instituted in 1941 and there are still about 300 men in them, most of them CO's, a big proportion of whom have been held for about four years, having been committed to the camps for the duration of the war. The whole system of defaulters' camps has been the subject of widespread criticism.

19-YEAR-OLD C.O. RELEASED

FOLLOWING strong representations by the Central Board for CO's the Home Secretary has remitted the rest of the sentence of Alfred Forte, of Berwick-upon-Tweed, sent to prison for 12 months at Newcastle on Aug. 15. Forte has now been discharged from Durham Prison, the release being with the concurrence of the Magistrates who convicted him.

Forte, who is only 19, had been fined £3 and £50 with two guineas costs for refusing medical examination last May and these were paid by his family. Following the later sentence of twelve months, Forte applied to the Appellate Tribunal but his application was rejected. If the earlier fine had not been paid and this CO had instead been sent to prison for three months—it is unlikely that any further proceedings for refusing medical examination would have been taken.

Forte would have had another three months to serve.

The ban on conscientious objectors in the Merchant Navy, imposed early in the war, has now been lifted, the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors is informed.

Applicants must first, however, go into the "Merchant Navy Pool."

To all Pacifists in the West

The future of the world-wide pacifist movement will, to a large extent, be determined at the simultaneous regional conference now being held throughout the world.

You should be at the Friends Meeting House, Broadweir, Bristol, February 9 and 10. Full details from Alan Mister, Lansbury Holcombe Rogus, Wellington, Somerset.

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January-March, 1946

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